

THE
POLITICAL MAGNET:
OR, AN
ESSAY
In DEFENCE of the late
REVOLUTION,
AND OF THE
SETTLEMENT of the CROWN
IN THE
PROTESTANT LINE.
PROVING

That the RIGHTS belonging to the ROYAL
FAMILY were *properly respected* in that
Settlement.

ILLUSTRATED

With many ARGUMENTS, REFLECTIONS,
and REMARKS, adapted to the *Present Conjunction*;
and tending to promote

A NATIONAL UNION

BY

unanimous Acquiescence in the said ESTABLISHMENT;
To our own *Happiness*, and the *Disappointment* of our
Enemies.

Connubio jungam stabili; — —

L O N D O N:

Printed for W. SANDBY, at the *Ship*, without
Temple-Bar. M,DCC,XLV.



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TO
HIS GRACE
THE
Duke of Newcastle,

Knight of the Most Noble Order
of the Garter, and one of His
Majesty's Principal Secretaries of
State, &c. &c.

MY LORD,

THE Author of the following
Sheets begs Your Grace's Leave,
in the most humble Manner,
to inscribe Your Name to
them. He thinks the Subject (if not the
Manner of treating it) will be a Means of
recommending them to Your Grace's Pro-
tection, and candid and favourable Interpre-
tation. How far Mankind will be agreed
with relation to the Author's Capacity for
treating the Subject, must be tried by, and
submitted to the Event; but he is fully
assur'd of this Point, that all Persons will
universally agree in his proper Choice
of a *Patron* for a Work of this Nature,
A 2 and

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and Tendency: In regard, Your Grace's Zeal and Activity in recommending *that Settlement* to the Affections of the People of *England*, which the Author hath undertaken to explain and defend, has been, on all Occasions so *abundant*, and exemplary, that Your Grace may not improperly be said to have been the POLITICAL ATLAS, or CHIEF ARCHITECT, whose constant and faithful Services, unshaken Fidelity, and *loyal Respects*, have greatly contributed to *the present happy Issue of Things*; and to the promising Prospect, which is now afforded us, of its being perpetuated, and rendered permanent: It is solely to this Consideration, my Lord, that Your Grace is to ascribe the Liberty, which the Author hath taken to prefix Your Grace's Name to this Treatise, to the End, that if (peradventure) it should so happen, that this Treatise should be held in any Account or Esteem, it might evidence to the World the Sentiments of the Author with Reference to the Obligations, which not only that Branch of the Royal Family, who derive Title under this Settlement, but the whole Kingdom have to Your Grace's most important Services in that Respect.

The Author of this Essay hath endeavour'd (according to the Model of his small Abilities) to deduce and account for some of

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of the Motives, which might possibly be Ingredients in determining Your Grace's Conduct on this Occasion, which were none of them in the least tinged, or depraved with *Petulance* or *Ambition*, or by any other sinister, dishonest, or indirect Influence; but were solely dedicated to Your Country's Happiness and Advantage; and were the Effect of the truest *filial Love and Duty to that important Object*: My Lord, in settling that critical Affair, the Rights and Claims of all Parties were duly weighed and perpended; and every just and reasonable Consideration was put into the Scale; and the Respect which was due to the CONSTITUTION and LIBERTIES of ENGLAND, at length cast the Balance; and finally prevailed:—*Vicit amor patriæ.*

My Lord, I do not intend, in this Place, (according to the *ordinary Mode and fashionable Parade* of modern Dedicators, and Dedications) to regale Your Grace with an *elaborate* and exquisitely contrived *Panegyric*, or to exhibit a *Catalogue* of Your Grace's laudable Actions, and eminent Virtues: This would be too arduous an Undertaking for me to engage in: I do, indeed, hold myself by no Means equal to the Task: but if I had Talents answerable to it; yet the Knowledge which I have of Your Grace's great Unwillingness and Aversion to receive this Sort of
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Homage, would be a sufficient Motive for my declining to pay it : Give me Leave, My Lord, to tell Your Grace, on this Occasion, that Your Grace, in this Respect, resembles some of the most illustrious Heroes, and venerable *Worthies* of *Antiquity*, who placed their Happiness not in popular Applause, or in a vain Shew and Ostentation, but judg'd that the real and intrinsic Worth of Actions, which were virtuously produced, and well and regularly performed, was sure to carry their own sufficient Reward ; they found a truer and fuller Complacency of Spirit, and a more real Joy and Contentation of Mind in performing all Sorts of meritorious Acts and Offices, than in being praised or complimented on Account of them. They were chiefly concerned for the *just Decorum* and *moral Rectitude* of their Actions, and were no otherwise Suitors to *Fame* than as she was to be found in the Retinue of virtuous Courses, and was sure to follow upon honourable and just Measures, and heroical Atchievements.

My Lord, It is for these Reasons, the Author thinks he cannot oblige you more than by observing a profound Silence in this Respect, than by *restraining* the *officious* Hand of *Praise*, which is more frequently *actuated* by the *Views* of the *Writer*, than guided by the equitable and solid Regards of Truth and Sincerity ; and by entirely referring

DEDICATION. vii

fering the Memory and Fate of Your Personal Merits, and public Services to the Care and Tuition of FAME: She alone is properly furnished and qualified with ORGANS and INSTRUMENTS for celebrating *heroical Atchievements*; and never fails to reward *such* with *immortal* and *heroical Honours*: It is in *this Light*, my Lord, that (I conceive) *impartial Posterity* will view your Actions, and *consider* and *celebrate* the *Services*, you have done your Country.

My Lord, I hope Your Grace condescends to excuse all this Trouble, and Freedom; and that you will favour me so far as to grant me Your Permission to subscribe myself to be, with an Attachment and Esteem every way consistent with the foregoing Professions,

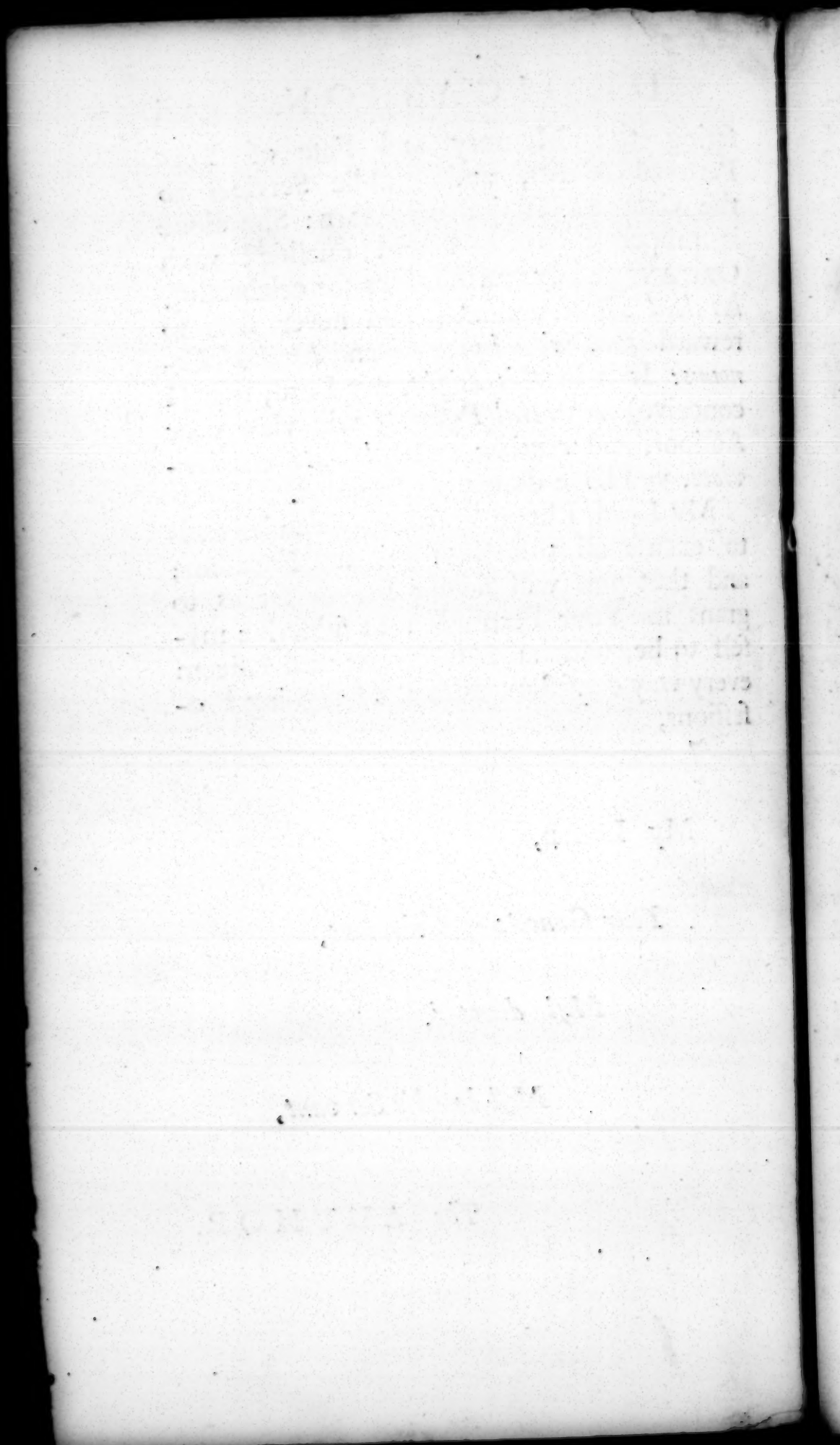
My LORD,

Your Grace's most obedient,

Most devoted,

Most humble Servant,

line of the time, The AUTHOR.
15 June,
1745.



THE PREFACE.

OUR sole Aim in writing this little Treatise, is to offer such Considerations and Arguments to the Reader, as may induce him to acquiesce in, and faithfully and affectionately to adhere to the present System of Government; and, in this View, to lay such Motives before him, as may contribute to excite and confirm a Spirit of Cordiality, Unanimity, Love, and Loyalty amongst Englishmen, in asserting, defending, and maintaining the true Interests and Happiness, and the Honour and Glory of their Country; in order thereby the better and more effectually to assure their common Rights and Privileges. We think fit to make this serious Profession at our first setting out, that we have not the least Inclination, or Intention, either to flatter those, who, in the Course and Rotation of human Affairs, are mounted upon the Ascent or Elevation of the Wheel; or to speak injuriously, unworthily, or unbecomingly of those, who have fallen from the highest Pinacle of Worldly Grandeur, and of Fortune's Favours; and are now upon the Descent and Declination of the Wheel: And we hope, that the Reader will not consider it as a Circumstance, which will in the least deviate from, or interfere with, the Candour and Equity of the foregoing Declaration, if we should, notwithstanding, think it an incumbent and indispensable Duty in us---to consider and treat that Family as Enemies to the State, whose Pretensions can by no Means be conciliated, or be rendered, in any wise, compatible with the Claims, Rights, and Immunities derived down, and conveyed not only to the present Royal Family, but to all the Subjects of England, in virtue of the Act of Settlement, and of such other Limitations of the regal Power, as have, by the Wisdom of Parliament, been thought fit (since the Exclusion of one Family, and the Accession of the other) to be made the constitutional and fundamental Rules and Principles of our Government, as

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the Pretensions of the Family in Exile, have an immediate and direct Tendency to dissolve and unhinge the present System of Government ; which, we propose to shew, is regularly and rightfully derived and subsisting ; not only from final Causes, or from the Pursuit of its Object, but from initial and original Causes ; that is to say, from the Nature and Circumstances of its Commencement : It is in this View, as well as with relation to the apparent and manifold Advantages, which (according to all probable Hopes, and Calculations,) will follow upon perpetuating the present System of Government, and to the sundry Inconveniences, which will attend the unsettling or violating the Order of Succession, as now established ;----That we have thought proper, (knowing the Ascendent, which Considerations of this Sort have naturally over the Minds of Men) to intitle this slender Essay---*The Political Magnet* : ---- or Load-stone, which, it is wished, might have the Power and Property to attract to itself ; that is to say---in Favour and Support of that System of Government, which now obtains ; and consequently to lead and govern the Use and Application of all the Swords in the Kingdom, and to cause them to meet and centre in one Point of Direction. And we are far from thinking those Considerations unseasonable, in regard to the Lapse of Time, which hath intervened since the Crisis, concerning which we treat, subsisted : For although the Winds, that occasioned the Tempest, may have ceased, as we hope they have, yet the Waters are far from having subsided, or from being become smooth, and transparent : It was, but the other Day, that we saw all the great Bodies and Communities in the Kingdom, both spiritual and secular, crowding into the Royal Presence, to disavow and disown the Intrigues of France, in Favour of the Person, who pretends a Right to the Crown of these Kingdoms, as Son and Heir of the late King James ; and echoing out the strongest Testimonies and Affirmations, which Words could afford or import, of their dutiful and inviolable Affection and Attachment to the Person of his present Majesty, and to his Royal Family, &c. Wherefore we have thought it highly seasonable, at this Time, to take a brief, but serious Review of such Facts and Occurrences

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cutrences as relate to the *late Revolution*, and to the *Settlement of the present Royal Family on the Throne*: To the End, that the Mind of the Reader may be fully satisfied with regard to the mighty Evils, which have been avoided by the Nation, in Consequence of those Events, as well as with Reference to the Benefits, which have accrued to it, and ensued from them: And if the Reader should *casually* entertain an Imagination, that we have not given this Work a *sufficient Compass*, so as to render it capable to include all the Variety of requisite Proofs, and Arguments, which inevitably occur in the proper Handling of so very copious and *extensive* a Subject, he would (in our Opinion) do well to reflect, that the COMPASS * is but small, which governs the Navigation of the largest Vessels; and that the MAGNET is infinitely smaller, which guides and directs the COMPASS: Which Comparison, we hope, may be thought, in some Sort, to suit the Complexion of THIS ESSAY, which is formed upon a Plan for exhibiting Directions for the Government and STEERAGE of the SHIP of STATE.

What is, indeed, principally intended from the following Discourse, is to prove, that the Rights of the *ancient Stem*, have not been in the least violated by the Accession of the *present Royal Family to the Throne*, as they are of the same Consanguinity with the *ancient Stem*, and in a direct Line and Descent from it; and as it will appear very fully, in the Course of our Observations, that the Claim of *Primogeniture*, is merely the Creature of the Policy of the Law, and introduced for Reasons of State, and solely for the Sake of the State; and that there are not any Rights inherent to *Seniority* or *Primogeniture*; but what are solely to be referred to a Sort of public and national Adoption; that is to say, to the *Vote*, *Option*, and *Beneplacit* of the State in favour of it; and such Rights only as flow simply and universally from the Course and Operation of the Laws and Customs of those Kingdoms, and States, which admit of such a Preference or Distinction, as from their true and original Source, without the least Colour or Pretext of having any other or higher Authority, or Derivation; and consequently such

* The Mariner's Compass.

such as are (and always ought to be) subject to be *arbitrated*, and altered at the Discretion of the State; whereas a Claim founded in an *equal Nearness of Degree in a genealogical Deduction* from the *Royal Stem*, is as fully warranted by the *Law of Nature*, and is more consonant to *Right and Reason* (*ubi Impedimenta absunt*) than a Claim founded in *Primogeniture*, where there are *civil Impediments*. We think, we have so far laboured this Point, as clearly to evince and prove the *Solidity and undeniable Certainty* of our *Conclusions*; and we hope, that *even with Relation to every other Point*, the Reader will find what is abundantly sufficient to authorize and establish such *Uses and Inferences* as are intended to be drawn from the several *Facts and Arguments*, which occur in the Course of *this Essay*; although we readily own, we have handled some Points more *transiently* than others; and as it were in *Passage*, because *we were sensible, we walked in a beaten Tract*; and that many Books had been written, and many Arguments had been offered to prove and illustrate the *Equity, Reasonableness, Expediency, and Necessity* of *this Procedure*, in the *English Nation*.

And as *Changes of Royal Families, and Revolutions in Government*, which are ever consequential upon such *Changes*, have been incident to all *Governments, Times, and Places*; Proofs have been brought in *Defence of the aforementioned Measures*, not only from the *Cases, Deductions, Placits, and Maxims* of the *Civil Law*; but likewise from all such *historical Lights and Helps* as exhibited and declared to us the *Judgment of our Ancestors*, in the like Cases, and on the like Emergencies, by the *Conduct and Example* of such *Nations and Places of the World*, in *Times preceding our own*, as are held to be *well policed*, and to have arrived at the *Height and Perfection* of *civil Prudence and moral Justice*: So that as we found ourselves *anticipated* in this Enquiry, and the *Subject of it* to be, in a great Measure, *exhausted*; our Aim, therefore, hath been to employ our best Care and Attention to place the *Object* of our *Enquiries and Speculations* in a *new* and in a better and clearer Light; and in this View, and to *this End*, we have thought it the most proper Course to avoid all tedious and unnecessary

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fary *Disquisitions*, and *Repetitions*, from other Authors, as what would only serve to embarrass and perplex the *Order* and *Perspicuity*, which we proposed and hoped to *observe* and *preserve* in the following *Discourse*; and we were the more inclined to *prefer* and *adopt* this Method, because the Books, which are already extant upon this Subject, are almost in every Body's Hands, as being wrote by the *most celebrated Persons* of the Times.

We think, moreover, that there is in this Case, so bright and irresistible an Evidence held out to us, and afforded from the *Law of Nature*, that is to say, from the *immediate Intuition* of the Mind, and from the *moral Congruity*, as well as the *civil Constitution* and *Consideration* of Things, with relation to the *Lawfulness* of the *aforementioned Measures*, as must necessarily authorize and recommend *the Method*, we have pursued; and cause it to be generally approved of; as it will---in our Opinion (*si nunquam fallit Imago*) prove more conducive, and appear to be abundantly better calculated, on all *Accounts*, to *evince* and *elucidate* this Inquiry; and to raise and promote a general Prepossession, or, to speak more properly, a *general Disposition*, in Favour of that *Pragmatic Sanction* or *Politic Constitution*, in virtue of which the present Royal Family derive their Title to the Throne, and a more compleat and general Acquiescence in it; and to increase and ratify the *public Love* and *Affection* for them, than any Book, which we have yet seen or met with, that hath been published in this View; and if we may be allowed a short Digression, without incurring the Censure of *Levity* or *Opiniatry*, we would observe, in this Place, that if an * ancient *Greek*, or *Roman Writer* had *addressed* his Considerations to, or employed his Thoughts upon a Subject of this Kind, they might easily have furnished themselves with a Variety of Materials, from whence they might have deduced and pronounced *happy Omens*, and *favourable Prognostics*, which were to follow (in Plenty) *from this Settlement*; and they most cer-

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* See *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, &c. *Livy*, *Sallust*, *Suetonius*, *Plutarch*, &c. and other ancient *Biographers*, and *Historians*.

tainly would not have failed to have made Use of them; but as this *Way of Writing* is now become quite obsolete and out of Fashion, it might prove fatal to a *Writer's Reputation* to lay any great Strefs or Weight upon them, or to cite such various and obvious Instances as occur of this Kind; yet I have ventured (*purely out of Curiosity*, and on Account of their remarkable Singularity, and extraordinary Nature) so far upon the Reader's Indulgence, as to insert two or three Occurrences of this Sort, which (as they are of *universal Notoriety*) are not to be gainfayed, or denied; omitting all such Facts as are of a more obscure and less certain *Genealogy*, and *Tradition*.

The first Instance then, which presents itself of this Kind, is *very remarkable*, that whilst the *States* of the Kingdom were deliberating upon the best and surest Expedients for securing the Peace of the Kingdom, by settling the Succession to the Crown in the *Protestant Line*; the definitive Issue and Result of their Deliberations, was to call to the Succession the Princess *Sophia*, and her Heirs; ---- most assuredly, an auspicious and happy Omen---This---(if any thing is to be infered from or refered to Accidents and Overtures of this Kind: For as MINERVA and SOPHIA are equivalent Terms for WISDOM: it may be said, that whilst the *British Senate* was busied in investigating Facts and Rights, relative to this Enquiry; (in Imitation of *Jove* of old) they (from their Heads) produced and brought forth another * *Pallas*; neither is this Circumstance (in our Opinion) to be omitted, that this Settlement, which was originated and dedicated in Favour of the Rights and Liberties of this Kingdom, first vested in a Person, who bore the Name of that renowned Champion, who is the tutelary Saint and Protector of these Kingdoms. I am afraid to be thought serious in an Affair, which many will undoubtedly think to be a Toy and a Trifle; or otherwise I could proceed to enumerate many other Occurrences, which seem to hold some Affinity with the foregoing Remarks; yet as I would not be understood

* à *Jove Pallas*.

stood to prejudge and discountenance *those Conceits too stiffly and peremptorily* ; I will offer one or two more, but with the usual Caution, which is observed by the Lawyers and Casuists in their Proofs, and Arguments : *Valeant eo modo tantum quo possunt aut debent valere.*

It is with this express Caveat, and with a Claim to the Benefit customarily indulged to others in the like Cases and Circumstances, that we have ventured to pursue this curious and sportive Humour so far as to surmise, that the Accession of the * late King to the Throne on the First Day of August, might (*perhaps*) be interpreted to denote the future Grandeur of his Family, in regard it is well known to Scholars in what Sense and Acceptation the Name of Augustus (from whence that Month is denominated) hath been used and applied, not only in his own Times, but in all the Ages succeeding his Government : Add to this, that with relation to the Death of the late King James (after he had first lived to see a total Eclipse of his Power, and Fortunes) at St. Germain's, in France ; may I be allowed to surmise, *this might likewise seem to portend*, that the Glory of his House was to be buried and swallowed up in a German Stem, whom the Fates had destined to succeed to, and to be consecrated in his Throne ; or shall I rather (*from a better advised Judgment and Discretion*) dismiss this Digression, together with what hath been the Subject of it, lest I should prove both troublesome and trifling in the Opinion of the Reader, to whom (as he lives in an Age greatly refined and enlightened by the two-fold Helps and Advantages of a new Revelation and a new Philosophy) it is to be presumed, that ancient Superstitions (which are generally supposed to be the Spawn and Product of a weak Creed and a fabulous Religion) cannot be, in the least, palatable, or acceptable : But as there are many other Reasons more immediate and interesting, wherein we may observe and adore the Finger of the Almighty in fighting our Battles for us ; and in distinguishing us with a Series of many gracious and merciful Dispensations, and signal Providences, in guiding, supporting, and protecting the

* George the First.

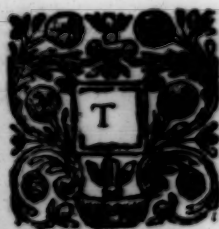
the whole *Frame* and *Fabric* of our Affairs, we have the less Reason to insist on those Things.

I now proceed to close this *Prefatory Address*, with observing, that although I must allow myself to be unequal and disproportioned to the Difficulty and Importance of this Enquiry, or to treat of a Matter of that transcendent and exalted Dignity; yet, if my Abilities do not fail me, on this Occasion; I assure myself from the Candour and Equity of the Reader, as well as from the several Matters, Facts, and Arguments, *alleged* and *argued* in the Course of this Treatise, that he will allow that I every where exhibit Proofs of a Mind devoted to Truth, and full of the most ingenuous *Respects*, and Intentions. We, likewise, entertain a Hope, that the *learned* and *intelligent* Reader will easily see, that we have used great Care so to incorporate and digest the Sense of the best Authors, who have wrote on this Subject, as that it may appear we have duly *read* and considered them, more from the *Strength* and *solid Contexture* of our *Discourse*, than from any *vaunting Shew*, or *glaring*, or *irregular*, and *ostentatious Pomp* of numerous *Quotations* from them. We even hope, he will easily discern a *native Energy* and continued Vigour to be universally diffused *through the whole Habit*, which he will *naturally* prefer to such *empty Ornaments* as are only *sparingly* and *superficially* spread upon the *Plumage*; or to that *spurious* and *false Lustre*, which only serves to *mislead* and *deceive* the *Senses*, and never appears to any Advantage, but in an *imperfect* and *unequal Light*: But to own a *plain* and *honest Truth*; we beg Leave to *bespeak* the *favourable Indulgence* of the Reader, whilst we are *indiscreet enough* to *affirm*, that (in our Opinion) such Parts of this Discourse as are *most* our own, and where we have not borrowed any *foreign Aids*, are far from being the *most* *exceptionable*, or the *least considerable* Part of this Performance; our Endeavour hath been (*novos decerpere flores*) to place the Subject in a *new* and *better Light*: How far we have succeeded in this Attempt, must be submitted to the *Judgment* and *Candour* of the Reader.



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THE Necessity, which a wise, and brave Nation, that hath evidenced itself affectionate to the Throne on many important Trials and Conjunctions; but yet hath shewn itself, at the same time, ever jealous of it's Rights and Liberties, was under, to proscribe (a) the late King *James*; and to limit and regulate the Succession to the Crown, in such manner as hath been provided for, by the Wisdom of Parliament, is a Subject, which hath been very fully handled, and clearly proved, by *historical* Writers. And, indeed, the Transactions and Events themselves, which led to and produced this *extraordinary* Crisis, are of recent Date (having passed no longer since, than just in the *Eve* of the present Century;) so that many Persons of *Distinction* in the *State*, who are now living, must not only have been Witnesses to them, but, likewise, Par-

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(a) The very many *anticonstitutional* and *despotic* Acts of that Prince, (together with his not being willing to abide by the Judgment of his Parliament, in making *such Dispositions* of *State*, as would secure the Constitution, but leaving the Kingdom, &c.) were construed to infer, and amount to an *Abdication* of the Government, &c.

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ties active and concerned in bringing about, and accomplishing *the late Revolution*, and *these Acts of Settlement*, which have followed upon it: for which Reason it should seem, in our Opinion, intirely unnecessary to give the Detail of Occurrences so very generally known to the World. Let it suffice, therefore, to observe, very briefly, that the *late King James* was so perversely bent to govern *despotically*, that, in order thereto, he broke through many of those laudable and advantageous *Policies*, which *our Ancestors*, and the *Laws of the Kingdom*, had most prudently provided, for securing *our Constitution*, and the *public Liberty*, against the Incroachments of the Crown at such Conjunctions as might seem most to invite and favour Attempts of that Nature.

In this View, that unhappy Prince used incessant Labour, and resorted to the most *unwarranted* and *exorbitant* Courses, that he might thereby the more assuredly and readily accomplish his Intentions to subvert and destroy the incontestable Rights of the *British Nation*: and thereby be the better enabled to introduce and establish his own Religion, (which was the *Papish Religion*) as he, perhaps, thought, that putting *religious* Shackles on the Minds of Men, might be the best Expedient, and the *surest Preparative*, to inure them (and to engage them in a Submission) to a *civil Bondage*, and in a *practical passive* Obedience to (b) the *arbitrary Placits*, and to the *sic volo, sic jubeo* of the *Crown*; and this unhappy Prince was so very near succeeding in these his Intentions to enslave his Country, that very little was wanting to compleat the
Tragedy,

(b) The Laws of Candor do indeed seem to require, that we should, in this Place, incline to think, that this unhappy Prince was a *serious* and *conscientious* Votary of the Church of *Rome*, (that he was the *Dupe* of *his own Persuasions*,) and acted not only *independently* of all *political* Considerations, in these Matters; but, even, *inconsistently* with them, and in pursuance of Measures *diametrically* opposite to *true Policy* of State.

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Tragedy, or to have crowned this sacrilegious Attempt upon the *Liberties* of his Country, with all the Success which he had imagined, or proposed to himself; but, when he very probably thought himself most sure of atchieving and perfecting these his *inglorious Purposes*; *the Will of Heaven* declared against him, and miraculously interposed for our Deliverance and Preservation. It always ought, most devoutly and reverently, to be ascribed to *the Almighty Providence*, (which hath often appeared, most remarkably, and wonderfully, in favour of these Kingdoms, and of the Protestant Profession of Faith therein established) that the *sacred Palladium* of our civil and religious Liberties, was not then intirely abolished; that the *Snare* was then broken, and that we were so seasonably and happily delivered from a Danger so very pressing and imminent (as this was) on all Sides. To speak a *sober and measured Truth*: There never was a Conjunction, wherein the *heroical* and *happy Genius* of this Nation, appeared with more distinguishing Advantage, or with brighter Lustre than on this Occasion. The whole *British Nation* in general, (Parties of almost every Sect, and Denomination) united themselves, and rose up as *one Man*, (*pro Aris & Focis*) to defend and maintain their *undeniable Rights and Privileges*; and this *Coalition* of Parties, in Defence of their *common Rights*, was most signally blessed and favoured by Heaven with a Success, in all respects answerable to the Justice and *Exigencies* of the Case. The *associated Nation* found themselves able (c) to resettlement the Constitution upon its true and an-

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(c) The *Kings of England* were never so absolute, or independent, but they had their *Regni Comites*; neither were the *People* ever so low or servile, but they shared in the *supreme Authority* of abrogating and making Laws, &c: and where the Legislature consists of a mixed and complicated Authority; the Prince constituting one Branch of the Legislature, and the *People* the other Branch of it. The Prince, (in the Opinion of *Grotius*) in this Case, may be opposed, and resisted, if he invades that Part of the supreme Right, which

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cient Basis; but, to that End, it became necessary to (d) *eject* and *exclude* the unhappy Prince (who had been the *unadvised* (or rather *ill-advised*) Author and Instrument of the numerous Calamities, which they both felt and feared) from his *regal* Dignity, and from the Use, Exercise, Administration, and *Enjoyment* of all those high Prerogatives, Powers, Rights, and Pre-eminences, which have ever been incident to the supreme Authority of these Kingdoms; and which, indeed, ought always to be held incident to, and inseparable from it; and which *the late King James, and his Heirs*, might otherwise, in all Probability, have held, and *enjoyed*, for a long Course of Years, even in *Time indefinite*.

This *noble* and *exemplary* Zeal of *confederated Britons*, in favour of the *Liberties* and *Constitution* of their *Country*, did not stop in deposing the *Tyrant*; they, likewise, (for the greater Terror of *Evil-Doers*, and of all future *Traitors*, and *Conspirators* against the *Honour* and *Interests*, and *Peace* and *Happiness* of the *Community*) *banned*, *attainted*, or in other Respects, brought to a *condign* and *adequate* Punishment his Adherents, Accomplices and Abettors; but yet, be it ever remembered, in Honour of the Times, and of the Persons, by whose Hands, and *in which* this great Event had it's Completion, and Accomplishment, that in the midst of the most accumulated and *complicated* Injuries and Provocations, in the midst of the most pressing Dangers, amidst

which belongs to the People, notwithstanding their Oaths of Allegiance to him, and notwithstanding the Prince hath the Power and Right of War alone; for that is to be understood of foreign War only. *Grotius* is, likewise, of Opinion, that if the Prince invade the People's Rights, he may lose his Right, by the Law of Arms; and that, under these Circumstances, (and in Right of Conquest) the People have then a Right to introduce such a Constitution of Government as seems most conducive to their Happiness and Welfare.

(d) See the Note at the Bottom of Folio 1.

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amidst the Noise, and Hurry, and Clatter of Arms, the Persons *thus associated* were not, on this Occasion, forgetful of the Duty and Respect which they owed to the Nation, to the Royal Family, and to themselves; but settled the Succession to the Crown (upon such Descendents of that unhappy King as were the *next compatible* Heirs to it) upon the Daughters of that very Prince, whom they had just before *deposed*, in Consequence of his *arbitrary*, and *anticonstitutional* Way of Proceeding; so that they may truly (and not improperly) be said to have been his *Friends (usque ad Aras :)* so far forth, as was in any wise consistent with the Duty, they owed to God and their Country:

To *prove* and *illustrate* the Equity of this Procedure, as well as to justify the further Settlement of the Crown in the most serene and illustrious House of Hanover, upon and after the Demise of the two Royal Daughters without Issue, is the Aim and Intention of these Papers to perform: and, in that View, we beg leave to lay it down as a Foundation, that the Errors and Miscarriages, which attended the Reign of King James the second, and which rendered the longer Continuance of his Government incompatible with the Liberties and Rights of a free People, arose principally, (if not solely, and intirely) from his Religion; and upon a Supposition, (e) that it became lawful to exclude that Prince, on these Accounts; it was, most certainly, a Sequel of wise and just Politics; and a very right and well-advised Measure of proceeding to supersede and overlook the Pretensions and Claims of all such Persons of the Royal Family, (though otherwise nearer in their Rights, Claims, and Degrees of Consanguinity) as professed and adhered to the same Religion, which had proved so fatal to that King; and would have been most certainly so to the whole Kingdom, if the Arrows which were levelled at our excellent and happy Constitution, by that Prince, had not been returned, and retorted upon his own Head.

We

(e) This we are proceeding to prove.

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We are of Opinion, that it may be properly observed in this View, and in Defence of *this Settlement*, that, although the *Crown of these Kingdoms* hath been all along *descendible* and *hereditary* in the *Lineage* and *Family* of our Kings, in such manner, as is well known, almost to every body, which *reverend Usage*, and manner of *Tradition*, have very *seldom* received any (even the least) Interruption; and *that only* upon the most extraordinary Emergencies of State; yet, notwithstanding, the Crown being the *undoubted Patrimony of the Kingdom*, the Possession of it, *as such*, in the *Lineage* and *Family* of our Kings, must necessarily be considered as *subordinate* and *relative* to the Uses, Ends, and Purposes of Government, and *as a Trust deposited with them*, and *delegated* by the People for that Purpose, and consequently *fiduciary*; so that, where it shall manifestly appear, that there hath been a total *Depravation* and *Violation* of this most *momentous* and *sacred* Trust, in such Manner, as by reason thereof, the most obvious, and essential Ends and Purposes of Government, have been so far from being *consistently*, and *adequately*, pursued, or duly, or properly, respected; that these very Ends are in the most imminent Hazard of being rendered totally *impracticable*, and intirely frustrated, unless Recourse be had to the Sword: for,

————— *immedicabile Vulnus*
Ense recidendum est —————

Certainly the *Rights of a particular Family* are not to be held so *indissoluble*, or *indispensable*, but that, when the Persons, who are intrusted with the Exercise of the *Regal Office*, have rendered themselves universally obnoxious, on Account of their *Mal-Administration*, and *lawless* and *tyrannic Sway*; and when the longer, or further Exercise of Power in their Hands, is deemed to be absolutely inconsistent with the Security and Rights of the People: The King, under the Circumstances of this Case, (although it must be allowed, he is *Major Singulis*) is to be considered and treated as *Minor Universis*; and in *this Crisis*, (and where all other Means, and Hopes of Relief fail; and perhaps, not at the Suit of

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of less weighty, less urgent, or less *interesting Motives, Reasons, or Occasions*) the People have unquestionably an *inalienable and inherent Right* to consult their own Welfare, and the Welfare and Happiness of their *Posterity and Country*, either by *transferring the Succession of the Crown*, or *otherwise*, by making and *enacting such Dispositions of State* as seem most befitting, and most to appertain to the Demands and Exigencies of the *subsisting Conjuncture*; and to that End, they have a Right to associate themselves for their mutual Defence, and to take up Arms to advance and effect those important and *salutary Measures*.

Nor is it easy to be conceived how that Party, which shares in the *Supreme Right*, can be without a Right of defending it; not that we think it *always* necessary for the People to *share in the Supreme Rights* in order to justify their *Resistance on such Occasions*: Certainly the *Law of Nature* warrants the Conduct of any People in dethroning a *Tyrant*, whose *Time and Councils* have been continually employ'd (and whose Power hath been constantly *debased and prostituted*) in *hammering and fashioning their Manacles, and Fetters*, and in binding them upon them; although such People could not derive such a Claim, as the People of *England* infallibly can, and that too during Time immemorial, of having a Right to a *joint Use and Communication* (with their Prince) of the *Legislative Powers*.

When *Monarchy*, or the *Regal Office*, was at first introduced among the Nations of the World, the Persons preferred to it, in all Probability, owed *their Elevation* to it, to *civil Respects, and Considerations*,—such as *Primogeniture, or heroical Merits and Services*,—*at-*chieved by them, or their Ancestors, to the *State, or Commonwealth*, which was to be the *Seat, or Circuit* of their Power, or Jurisdiction; or to *Conquest*, or the successful Progress, and victorious Prosecution of Arms, and military Operations: And, in these Cases, where it was intended, that the *Regal Office, and Supreme Authority,*
should

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should go in hereditary Descent; in order thereby, the better to cut off all Competition and Emulation for Empire, this Inauguration and Appointment of such supreme Magistrate, was supposed to convey such a *pre-eminent* Dignity to his Descendents, as to entitle them to succeed to the kingly Office, or *imperial* Diadem, in Preference, and by way of Exclusion of all others, in *such a Course of Succession*, as was thought fit to be settled and ordained, as most conducive to the Peace and Happiness, Honour and Interests of the State, where such Constitutions and Regulations were to take Effect; and it will by no means follow, that these Accounts and *Calculations* are merely conjectural, or *romantic*, if there should be no public Monuments to be found, or resorted to, containing such Sanctions and Regulations: As it is not only an allowed Maxim in the Laws of *England*, but likewise in the *Civil Law*, that all *prescriptive* Rights, or Usages *immemorial*, had their *Origination*, and Commencement, and were primarily conceived, and comprehended, in some written Instrument, or *authentic* Monument; though by the Length and Diuturnity of Time, such Instruments, or written Monuments, are now no where to be found; therefore, the Want of such authentic Monuments does not invalidate, or call in question what hath been said in this respect; neither ought it in Reason so to do.

The Origin of the (f) *Salique Law*, the customary Descent of the Crown of *England*, and in *many other Places and Nations*, are solely to be accounted for in this Way; although the original Monuments in many Places lie hid and buried under so very remote and deep Antiquity,

(f) In this respect, the King of *France* hath not so advantageous a Possession, or so *absolute* a Right in his *Throne*, as the King of *England* hath; because the *Crown of England* is *descendible*, upon the *Demise* of the King, where the King in Possession hath no Son, upon his *eldest Daughter*; whereas, by the *Salique Law*, the *Crown of France* often goes, in this Case, to some remote collateral relative, or Cousin of the King, in Exclusion of his Daughters, &c.

ty, (or, perhaps, by the *Policy of many States*, have been purposely lost and neglected, thereby to produce and raise the greater Reverence and Wonder in the People; as nothing bears a more *venerable Aspect*, or invites their Love and Affection more than *antient and immemorial Usages*, especially where the Things, which are accompanied with *that Sanction*, are not *obnoxious* to Censure, nor have been subject to Abuse, as it shews the concurrent Judgment and Testimony of our Ancestors, through an *uninterrupted Series* and *Succession of many Ages* in favour of such Customs and Usages) that there is no tracing or finding out their true Source; and what adds to the *Facility* and *Perspicuity* of this sort of *Tradition*, with relation to the *Descent of the Crown*, or *Imperial Diadem* in the several Nations of the World, among whom *absolute* or *limited Monarchy* is admitted, is the *extreme Simplicity* of the *Subject*, it being dependent upon, and connected with so very few Circumstances, that the *Solemnity* and Manner of every Descent or Transmission of the Crown may easily pass and be retained by *Oral Tradition*: And, admitting the Truth (or *high Probability*) of those Accounts; yet it will by no Means follow, that *these Constitutions* are not to be seasoned and applied *cum grano salis*; and so as to be liable and open to *just* and *reasonable* Exceptions, as well as all other general Rules. *These Constitutions*, as they are introduced *principally* for the sake of the State, wherein they have *their Activity* and *binding Power*, and as they derive their Origination and first Commencement from the *Forecast* and *Policy* of such State, ought, in the Nature and Reason of Things, to be subject to the Wisdom, Controul, and Superintendency of the State; and to be regulated, disposed, and *qualified* according to the Demands and Exigencies of *subsisting* Conjunctures. *Omne enim eodem modo dissolvitur quo constituitur; et omnibus modis est cavendum et conandum, nequid detrimenti respublica capiat; wherefore—quod populus postremum jubet, id ratum esto.* The first Point, then that will merit our Attention, and which will fall properly under Consideration here, will be to shew that the Honour and Dignity of the Throne was properly consulted and provided for;

and was not in the least *disparaged*, *degraded*, or *diminished* by the *Accession* of the House of *Hanover* to the Throne; as that *most serene* and *illustrious House* was not only of the *Lineage* and *Consanguinity* of our Kings, but was in other Respects, of royal and *heroical* Descent and Extraction: And, in regard *this Procedure* did not want a *domestic Precedent* to warrant its Lawfulness in the *Settlement*, which was made of the Crown in Favour of the House of *Lancaster*, and so as to exclude the House of *York*, who were (*antedecently* to such *Settlement*, *Appointment*, and *Investiture*) the *undoubted Heirs of the Throne*; although the *Incompetency* of *Richard the Second*, and the Causes which moved or contributed to his being deposed and dethron'd, had not the least Mixture or Connection with *religious Considerations*; but were wholly and solely of the *political Kind*; the Truth is, the Kings of *England*, his Progenitors, had been extremely burthensome to their Subjects, by the *exorbitant*, *illegal*, and *unwarranted* Use and Exercise of their *Prerogative*: They frequently assumed to themselves a *legislative Power* in many Respects, which frequently occasioned the Kingdom to become the *Theatre* of bloody *Civil Wars*, and of the most violent *intestine Conflicts* and Commotions; wherein many cruel and dismal Tragedies were *exhibited*.

The Nobility and principal Persons of the Realm having made due Reflections on the unhappy Consequences which followed upon the *Prerogative*, its not being duely bounded, and circumscribed; and upon the unwarrantable Incroachments of the Crown, which ensued and were occasioned from the Want of proper Limitations being put to the *Pretensions of Prerogative-Right*, took Opportunity and *Advantage* from the weak and *inglorious* Reign of the aforementioned *Richard*, and in order to redress and to put an effectual Stop to those Grievances and Oppressions in future, did agree and conspire to depose the aforementioned *Richard*, and to raise *Henry*, Duke of *Lancaster*, (afterwards King *Henry* the Fourth) to the Throne; who (although he was the eldest Son of *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, which said *John of Gaunt* was the
fourth

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fourth Son of that renowned and *invincible Prince*, King *Edward the Third*; yet) was not the legal or *proximate* Heir to the Throne, not only with relation to the interfering Pretensions of the deposed King, but likewise with regard to the *antecedent Claim* and *nearer Consanguinity* of *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, who was the Son of *Roger Mortimer*; which said *Roger* was the Son of *Philippa*, who was the only Daughter and Heir of *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, who was the *third Son* of King *Edward the Third*. This Right of the House of *March* devolved, upon the Death of the said *Edmund* without Issue, upon *Anne*, a Sister of the said *Edmund*, who intermarried with *Richard Plantagenet*, Earl of *Cambridge*, Son to *Edmund of Langley*, Duke of *York*, by whom she had *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *York*; who, by the Right devolved from his Mother upon her Death, was Heir to the *Crown* according to the ancient Customs and Usages of the Realm: So that what hath been often insinuated and insisted upon with relation to the Right of *Henry the Fourth*, and of his House, to the Throne in the Right of his Mother *Blanch*, in regard to her being the Descendent and Heir of *Edmund Crouchback*, Son to King *Henry the Third*, could be of no conclusive Weight or Force, as it was notorious to the whole Kingdom, that *Edmund Crouchback* was the second Son of that King, and not the eldest Son, as was falsely pretended, and given out in favour of the House of *Lancaster*; so that they who claimed and derived from him, could have no Right. We may, therefore, very truly and safely affirm, that *Henry the Fourth* owed his Advancement to the Throne, not so much to the Consideration of any Right, which was incident to or inherent in his Person, before his Adoption, Ascent, and Admission to the Throne, as to *Maxims of State*, which determined (and united) the principal Persons of the Realm (for the Reasons aforesaid) to prefer to the Throne some *heroical* and *illustrious Personage* of the *Lineage* and *Consanguinity* of their Kings, who yet should not have any Right or Claim to the Kingdom in the Way of *Heirship*, so as to revive those jarring and incompatible Pretensions of
lawless

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lawless and *unbounded* Prerogative, which had been heretofore so fatal to the Repose and Happiness of the People; but who would (as it was reasonably presumed) have a more *natural Coalition* and immediate Connection with the People, and necessary Dependence upon them, in regard, the People were to be considered in some Sort, as the *Constituents* and *Architects* of his Authority, and Fortunes: It was likewise *inferred* from thence, that the Person who was thus advanced to the Throne on this Account, would prove more *facile*, more ready, and *acquiescent* in giving Laws of greater Benefit and Security to *their Rights* and *Properties*, and would admit the *Prerogative Royal* to be shaped and circumscribed according to the *Exigencies* of the *State*, and in such Manner as might best consist with the *Properties* and *Rights* aforesaid.

It was in this View, (although there was indeed no *previous* or *express Capitulation* to assure the Truth or Certainty of what is here alledged) that the *Revolution* in favour of the House of *Lancaster* was brought about, *viz.* to *moderate* and *regulate* the *Pulse* of the *Prerogative Royal*; which by its irregular and disorderly Motions, had so often endangered not only the *well Being*, but the *very Being* of the *Body Politic*.

Whatsoever therefore, hath been *supposed*, or *said*, with relation to the Rights of the House of *Lancaster*, can and ought only to be understood of (or referred to) such Rights as were *originated*, *produced*, and *established* in favour of *that House*, by the *Accession* and *Assumption* of the Duke of *Lancaster* to the Throne; and we think it will sufficiently appear from the *Sequel*, that the *Adoption* and Advancement of the *Line* of *Lancaster* to the Throne, (in the Person of *Henry the Fourth*) was neither *unjust* nor *impolitic*, in the then Circumstances of the Nation: This *Procedure* of the *People* of *England*, being warranted (not only by *domestic Precedents* of the like Nature, but) by the *Necessities* and *Emergencies* of the *State*, and by the *Reasons* *aforemention'd*. And although the *Settlement* of the *Crown*, in favour of *that House*, met with strange *Vicissitudes* of *Fortune*, it being twice unhinged and broke through by the *Interests* and *Intrigues* of
of

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of the House of York; yet (in Conclusion) it became triumphant and permanent, and the Crown did remain and abide with the Heirs of *Henry the Seventh* until the late Revolution in 1688; and even then, the next Protestant Heir and Descendent of that Prince, held and does now hold the Crown; and it is to be especially noted, that the aforesaid Settlement of the Crown in favour of the Line of Lancaster, was understood to be so sacred, solemn, and obligatory upon the Nation, that a great deal of the best and bravest Blood in it, was spilt in the Defence and Maintenance of that Settlement; our Ancestors thinking it essentially comported with their Honour, Fidelity, and Duty to the State, to ratify and adhere to their Oaths of Allegiance, which they had given to that Family; and not to impeach or impugn a Constitution so very advisedly and seasonably introduced, with so much Benefit and Advantage to the whole Realm, as well as with the general Consent and Approbation of all Sorts of Persons in it. Here it may not be amiss to observe, that the Claim of the Heir in all Cases, (even with reference to the Descent and Transmission of the Crown itself, as well as with relation to Lands and Tenements, held in private Propriety) is governed and modelled by the Policy of the State, that is to say, by the Law of the Realm, which is the Canal, or Conduit-Pipe, through which the Heir derives his Right, and that the Right of Heirship is not of so very high, transcendent, or indissoluble a Nature, as is generally imagined; neither was it originally or intentionally introduced in favour of the Heir, or for his sole Convenience and Grandeur, or in order to his better or more liberal, or affluent, and unrestrained Accommodation; but this laudable Policy was calculated originally in Subordination to grave, important and political Respects of Government: And in this View, the mighty Advantages, which the Law devolves upon the Heir, are to be accounted and esteemed only as casual and accidental Perquisites and Acquisitions in his favour, which although indeed, they center and are lodg'd with the Heir, yet have they their Rise and Foundation in a higher and more refined Policy, as was said before, and are in no wise to be supposed to be conferred

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conferred upon the *Heir*, for the Sake of the *Heir*, who ought only to be considered here in the Light the *Poet* does the *fashionable* Dress, which the *Ladies* of his *Time* and *Country* used to array and adorn themselves with :

Auferimur cultu, gemmis auroque teguntur :

—*Est minima pars ipsa puella sui.*

The *Constitution* whereby the eldest Male succeeds to Lands of Inheritance (exclusively of his Brothers and Sisters) is (if considered *abstractedly* and *independently* of other Motives and Considerations) evidently repugnant to all the *Rules of natural Equity*, in the highest Degree: The *Parent* being, by the *Laws of Nature*, essentially obliged to open and extend the Hand of Protection and paternal Care and Providence to all his Children, *irrespectively*, and *in pari gradu*, without Preference or Distinction of Persons or Sex. *Common Justice* points out strongly and clearly, that the Substance of the Parent should not be *absorbed* or *appropriated* by (or be solely bestowed upon) a *single Child*; was it not for this *cogent*, necessary, and, indeed, *unanswerable* Reason, that Lands of Inheritance are not easily or conveniently *partible*; and that it does contribute, *mainly* and *principally*, to the *Glory*, *Grandeur*, *Strength*, and to the *general Emolument* and *Convenience* of the *Realm*, (by all reasonable and befitting Ways and Means, not to allow of any Division or *Discrepability*, with relation to Lands and Inheritances, and consequently,) that *this Constitution* should be *perpetuated*, because it offers and affords a powerful *Incentive* and *Inducement* to Men to be the *Founders of their Families and Houses with Fame*; and also, by this very Means, the *Rents* and *Services* due to the *Crown* are better paid, and performed: Wherefore this *Monopoly* and *Partiality*, in favour of the *Heir* (unjust and unnatural as it is, upon every other Account) takes place almost every where, even among the most civilized and *best policed* Nations for the sake of *Unity of Possession*, and for the sake of such *political* Ends, and Advantages, as have been already mentioned; for
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when *Unity of Possession* was consider'd as conducive and ancillary to the Grandeur and the Convenience of the *State*, in the aforementioned Respects, the Devolution of the Inheritance upon a single Person, in order to it, became consequentially necessary; but yet it is probable, that the eldest Male was preferred to it, not solely in relation to his Primogeniture, but upon this further Account, and upon the general Consideration, that the eldest Son was supposed to be most fit, and best habilitated, by the Condition of his Age, to render the Services due and performable to the State, from the Tenure and even with relation to the Demise of the Crown; The eldest Son (as we humbly conceive) is admitted and preferred to it (exclusively of his Brothers and Sisters) upon the same Account, viz. upon the probable and general Presumption, that by reason of his Sex and of his Years, he is deemed more capable of exercising the Royal Functions, and the Kingly Office, than the rest; and not especially and principally upon the Account of any extraordinary pre-eminent Worthiness, which is supposed to consist or reside in his Person (above or beyond his Brothers and Sisters, who are excluded from the Inheritance) in virtue, or by reason of his Seniority, or Primogeniture: And it is extremely clear from the whole OEconomy, Order and Disposition of Things in favour of the Heir, (as well with relation to Lands and Tenements held in private Propriety, as with relation to the Descent and Transmission of the Crown itself,) that the Law gives more to the Heir than he is intitled, by the Rules of natural Equity, to have; and less to the Brothers and Sisters of such Heir, than they ought (by the same Rules of natural Justice) to have, because the Policy of the Law is such, in all Cases, that it will sooner suffer a Mischief to be done to particular Persons, than an Inconvenience to accrue to the Public, which would otherwise unavoidably happen, (as we have already shewn) in case the Inheritance to Lands and Tenements was not to center with a single Person, but was admitted to be distributable and partible among many Persons; yet it must be allowed, after all, (for so civil Respects and Considerations seem to require,) that
(where

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(where it is held convenient, that the Inheritance should be lodged with a single Person) *Seniority* or *Primogeniture* (where no civil *Obstacle* or *Impediment* intervenes, but it remains intirely free, and indifferent upon every other Account) should, in this Case, give a *reasonable Preference*; but notwithstanding this Concession, which we have thought fit and *but reasonable* to be made, it appears most evidently *from what hath been premised*, that the Settlement of the Inheritance in favour of a single Person, was not originally or primarily digested or *produced* in favour of the Heir, any further or otherwise, than as the Advancement and Advantage of such Heir, was held, deemed, and understood to have a perfect Congruity, Correspondence, and Connection with Considerations and Respects of *State*: And therefore, we hope, *we shall stand justified in the Opinion of our Superiors*, in making the following *Observation* (as such *Observation* seems to us, to square with such Inferences as may be fairly drawn, and are sufficiently deducible, from what hath been already argued and evinced upon this Subject) that the *Relation of Primogeniture* (though we have admitted it to be *respectible* in and under proper Circumstances, Cases and Limitations, yet) neither can, nor ought to give such a transcendent, *indelible* or *indissoluble* Right to those who claim under it, as that the *Crown* may not be transfered and transmitted, by reason of a civil Incompetency in such *Clamants* (and at the Suit of particular Emergencies, and Necessities of *State*) to *Persons competent*, though more remote in the *Degrees* and *Relation of Consanguinity*: Neither ought *this Law or Custom*, which hath prevailed in favour of the *eldest Son*, &c. to be regarded otherwise than as *Lex sub graviore lege*, and so as to be subject from Time to Time to the Inspection and Superintendency of the *State*, and to be consequently *variable* (at the Discretion of the *State*) according to the *Diversity of Conjunctures*, and as often as the Circumstances and Exigencies of the *State* demand an
Alteration

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Alteration to be made, with relation to such civil Incompetency, and Incapacity as aforesaid, in the immediate *Clasman* under such Usage and Custom; because, as the Rights of the *immediate Clasman* are derived intirely from, and solely subsist in the *Policy* of the *State*, and were (as we have proved) originally produced for the Sake of the *State*; it is certainly equitable in the highest Degree, that even the very Being and Duration of these Rights, should be absolutely governed by, and finally and totally depend upon the *Convenience* and *Beneplacit* of the *State*. And where the *Crown* happens to be transfered, by reason of a civil Incompetency in the *proximate* or *customary* Heir, to a *remoter Relative*, (and more especially where the Possession hath vested in such remoter Relative) it seems to us, in this Case, to become a necessary and *fundamental Point in true Policy*, that no future *Morigeration*, obsequious Bearing, or subsequent Conformity in the *customary Heir*, with Reference to the Matters and Things, wherein his Conduct and Principles were before held to be *exceptionable* and *obnoxious*, should *purge*, or *redintegrate* his Title, or render him *compatible*, or *susceptible* of the *Crown*: For, in this Case, the *Scheme* and *Order of Succession*, as settled under a *suitable Alternative*, should remain *inviolat*e; and the *Rights derived under it*, ought to be held and considered as *fundamental, fixed, and permanent*, and to be devolved in as legal and solemn Manner upon the *remoter Relative*, as if such *remoter Relative* had been the *proximate Heir* (g) to it: for as every *Interval* or *Interregnum* in the Descent and Transmission of the *Crown*, should be avoided as much as possible; so when that *Solution of Continuity*, (to borrow, for once, a *Phrase* from the Gentlemen of the *Faculty*) which was occasioned by reason of *such civil Incompetency* in the *proximate Heir*, is once *cured* and *consolidated*, by a

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suitable

(g) This bears *some Analogy* with the Laws of *England*, with Relation to the *Determination* and *Extinction* of the *Propriety* and *Claim* of private Persons in *Lands* and *Venements*, where the *Heir* is *professed*, &c.

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Suitable Alternative, in order thereby to secure and preserve the Peace and Welfare of the Community : — Under these Circumstances, no Person, nor any Number of Persons, can have *any Right or Pretension* to infringe upon *such Settlement*, or to disturb or impugn the *Connexion and Interest*, which the Person who is become *King*, in Consequence of it, hath *in and with the State*.

It may not be amiss, perhaps, to observe in this Place, that the *late King (b)* was descended *from the last King of England, (i)* who died seized of the *Throne*, leaving *Issue that are now alive*, and that he was as near in the *Degrees of Consanguinity* to that *King*, as the *Person who forms Pretensions to the Throne*. We may add to this, that the *present Royal Family* have certainly the *very best sort of Primogeniture*, viz. a *political Primogeniture*, or *Priority in their Apotheosis*, or *Inauguration to the Crown of these Kingdoms*; that is to say, *Possession of it*, under the most solemn *Sanctions of the State*: We consider this to be *Instar Omnium*, as equal to all the rest, in regard to their having the solemn *Acts and Decisions* of the *Kingdom*, to *authenticate* (and render valid) their *Right to exercise the sovereign Jurisdiction* of (and in) these *Kingdoms*: It being not only a *fundamental Maxim* in the *Laws of England*, but in all *Countries*, where there are *Lands or other Things*, which are descendible to the *Heir*, or which are *acquirable by Inheritance or lineal Transmission*, that *SEISSINA facit Stipitem, & primum Gradum*.

Now if what hath been advanced in this little *Pamphlet*, (which comes quite *unattended, unrecommended, and unadorned* with the *Pomp and Pageantry of References and Quotations*, or with *knotty and sophistical Arguments*, or with *mistaken and misapplied Maxims*, or with *grammatical Niceties*, or with *logical Subtleties*,) should yet (*notwithstanding all this*) have the good Fortune to suit the *Taste*, and to fall in with the *Imagination*

(b) King George the First. (i) King James the First.

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Imagination and Judgment of the Reader, so that he thinks and infers, (as we really and sincerely do) that the Succession to the Crown of these Kingdoms, (as it is, and stands now, limited to the present Royal Family) is well and lawfully and rightfully derived; and that we have made good the Proof of our Proposition in that respect: In this Case, what wise and good Man would be willing to see his Country made an Aceldama, a Scene of Blood, and of sundry other Miseries, Devastations, Desolations, and horrible Confusions, which are generally incident to and inseparable from a civil War, for a vain Punètilio, a mere Point of Heraldry? What Madness and Infatuation must it be in us to risque and sacrifice our most essential Advantages, now so happily circumstanced, and secured to us, and all the valuable Blessings we enjoy, in virtue of our excellent Constitution; and to quit the Substance in quest of a Shadow, or something (if possible) even less visible, less perceptible, and less substantial than a Shadow.

It is worthy here of most serious Consideration, what numerous and fatal Inconveniencies would attend *unsettling the Succession in the present Royal Family*: It would not only import and infer the greatest National Ingratitude towards them, and *Breach of Trust* in the People of *England*, but would even dissolve and unhinge all the political Ligaments, and the very Frame of *our Constitution*.

Certainly the more Respect is shewn to the Settlement, which hath been made of the *Crown*, in favour of that illustrious Family; the more it makes for the *Rights and Authority of the People of England*; and shews the Importance, the Validity, and the binding and sacred Quality of their proper Act. The Family in *Exile* would, in Case of a *Revolution in their Favour*, be supported by the Advocates, Agents, and Instruments of their Power, to succeed in *universum jus*; that is to say, the absurd (and now antiquated) Claim, with Relation to a legislative and unbounded *Prerogative*, would then revive, and would, very probably, once more resume its arbitrary and *despotic Range*;

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and *thereby* would infallibly destroy and subvert the whole Order, and *settled Oeconomy* of that Constitution, which hath been so happily introduced among us, in favour of our *Rights* and *Liberties*; a Revolution of this Sort, would quite *supplant* and *nullify* the Authority of the People *in future*; they would, in this Case, appear before *their new Sovereign* as *Champions recreant*.

And if any *Conditions* or *Modifications* of *Power* should be proposed, or *take place*, in favour of the Nation, at *such a Crisis*, it is natural to believe, that (as such Limitations would be supposed to flow from the Circumstances and *Necessity* of the Conjunction) such Limitations and Conditions would be held *resumable* at the *Royal Pleasure*; but the *Object* of *this Address* to the People of *England*, is to persuade them to act with all their Power and Might (and so as to omit no Opportunity, which offers for that Purpose) to *ratify* and *perform* the Decrees, and solemn Acts, and Decisions of *public Councils*, and *national Assemblies*, and to render such Acts and Decisions *respectible* on all Accounts; and (in Pursuance of *their most solemn Oaths*, their bounden Duty, and most important and essential Interests) to preserve and perpetuate the *present Royal Family* on the Throne, whereby the Calamities and Horrors of a *civil War* will be prevented; and we be enabled to reap the Fruits of *that happy Establishment* in *our Favour*; who, that reads the Story of ancient Times, would desire a Return of the same Calamities? When the Competition between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, run so high, (*k*) that *twelve set Battles* were

(*k*) The *Partisans* of these *two Houses* moved much upon the *same Principles*, and have a good deal of *Analogy* with *Whig* and *Tory*; as I imagine, the Zeal of a *Yorkist* would have carried him to defend (what he imagined to be) *the Rights of the Crown*, even at the Hazard and Expence of the *Liberties* of the People; and that the Zeal of a *Lancastrian* would have engaged him in the Defence of the *Rights* and *Liberties* of the People, so far as even to interfere with, and intrench upon the *indubitate Rights* and *Prerogatives* of the Throne.

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were fought, *within the Realm*, by *Englishmen* only, upon this *Quarrel*: And more than fourscore Princes of the *Royal Blood* were slain within that Period of Time, by the *Hands of one another*, besides a most incredible Slaughter of others; and in that *Desolation* and Slaughter, were included many such Subjects as were of the *First-rate Distinction* and *Quality* in the Kingdom. If, therefore, other Men's Harms may render us docile, and disposed to act with a proper and necessary Caution and Circumspection, we shall not readily *desire* (or *easily suffer*) a Return of the *like Evils*. The certain Way to prevent and obviate these Disorders, is for the Nation to unite affectionately and universally, in supporting the present Royal Family upon the Throne, who (as they owe their *Ascent* and *Elevation* to it, to the Favour of the Nation; so long as they act consistently with the Ends proposed from this Settlement) cannot fail to receive the most *faithful Homage*, and the most grateful Returns and Acknowledgments from a free People.

Liberty and *Property* (those two *fundamental* and *inestimable* Blessings) being *thus* happily and fully secured to us, will not fail to shed a most benign and auspicious Influence upon *their* Government; and like *Castor* and *Pollux*, those two refulgent Stars, will brighten and *elucidate* our *Hemisphere* to that Degree, that those, who are at the *Helm* of Affairs, will have all the Reason imaginable to promise themselves *Halcyon-Days*, and a safe, happy and prosperous Voyage, in conducting and navigating the *Ship* of the *Commonwealth*.

In this View, and in order to promote this necessary Work; let *all the Hands* of our *political Briareus* be fully employ'd; let none of them remain either idle on this Occasion, or be busied, uselessly or hurtfully, in *binding, weakening* or *wounding* one another; let our *Briareus* not waver, with relation to the *Course* he is to *steer*: His *Course* is directed to *Heliopolis*, the *Imperial City* and *Port* of the *Kingdom of Concordia*, which is one of the most famous, the most flourishing, and most happy of all the *Fortunate Islands*; a most blessed
and

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and fruitful Region indeed, where *Art* and *Nature* seem to vie with each other, in furnishing out and supplying every thing, which is necessary for the Sustainment, Use, Comfort, and Accommodation of the *Life of Man*: But, amidst that indulgent and liberal Profusion and Supply of all Things convenient and agreeable to *Life*; these *fortunate Regions* are famous on no Account so much as for producing a *Plant*, (which is rarely to be met with in any other Country in the World, and is found no where in such a Degree of Beauty, Plenty, or Perfection as here, and) which *Patriotism* and the *Hand of Virtue* first planted in this Country: This celebrated Plant is of a most delicate Taste, and of a most exquisite and agreeable Relish and Flavour; it is used at all Seasons of the Year by all Sorts of Persons, on account of its most admirable and extraordinary Virtues, and of its specific, *sovereign* and *salutary* Efficacy; it comforts and strengthens the *Brain* and *Heart*, composes the *Mind*, invigorates, *exhilarates*, and *rejoices* the *Spirits*, and *assists*, *augments* and *confirms* the *active Powers* of the whole *animal Oeconomy*, and of the *humane Machine*, in a most wonderful Manner, and thereby greatly contributes to *Health* and *long Life*: The Name of this *Plant* is (1) *Liberty*.

It is remarkable, that this *Plant* hath received considerable Increase and Improvement of late Years, from the *Care* and *Culture* of *Agricola II.* who is the Prince of the Country *now reigning*: This *Prince* hath the Welfare and Benefit of his People so much at Heart, that he hath turned even the *Demefnes* and *Appenage* of the *Crown* into *Seminaries* and *Plantations* for raising it. And as the beneficial Commerce, which is carried on by the *Heliopolitans*, is solely to be ascribed to their promoting and encouraging the Growth and Increase of *this Plant*, in the Manner they do; the extraordinary Advantages, they derive from thence; and the great Reputation and Glory which accrue to them from a *Traffic*, which extends itself to the most distant Parts

(1) *Nepenthe.*

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Parts of the *habitable Globe*, cause the *Heliopolitans* to be *envied* and *maligned* by most Nations, but more especially by the neighbouring Kingdoms and States, who are the most sensible, and the soonest affected with Envy and Chagrin at the rare and singular Felicity, and *superior Privileges*, which this People enjoy above the rest of the World. The Kingdom of *Vulpecula* (for Instance) which is only separated from this *fortunate Island* by a very narrow Channel, and lies upon the *Continent*; is perpetually projecting and carrying on military Operations against the *Heliopolitans*, and meditating Invasions in favour of an *exiled* and *fugitive* Prince, who professes the same Religion, which the *King* and *People of that Country* do; but which, however, is held to be *heretical* by the good *Heliopolitans*; so that the Person, whose *Protenensions* the King of *Vulpecula* espouses, is not only obnoxious to the *Heliopolitans* on that Account, but is likewise more particularly so, with relation to the *odious* and *despotic* Government of his Father, who was formerly King of the *Heliopolitans*, and was *exiled* and *attainted* (together with his Son) on that Account: But independently and exclusively of these Considerations; the *Heliopolitans* have so high and exalted an Idea of their present Happiness, and of the Excellence of *that Constitution*, under which they live, that they would consider any Attempt to infringe upon it, or disturb it, not only as a most nefarious and execrable Treason, but as the worst sort of *Sacrilege*, in Regard to the extraordinary and multifarious Privileges and Benefits, which they derive from it, and to that happy Establishment and Assurance, which it affords them of their Liberties and Properties being continued to them, and would most readily and chearfully hazard, and even sacrifice *their Lives* and *Fortunes* in Defence of it; wherefore the sage *Heliopolitans* consider the Person, in favour of *whose Pretensions* the King of *Vulpecula* is so ready, upon all Occasions, to take up Arms, to be merely a *political Engine*, which is resorted to, in order to distract and divide *their Councils*, and to alienate their *Affections* from the Government, which hath so happily taken Place in *Concordia*: But this Artifice is so far from

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from bringing about, or answering the Ends proposed from it, that the *Heliopolitans* are never seen *more intire*, and more strongly *united*, and better *cemented* among themselves than at such *Conjunctures*; and, indeed, the *Sagacity* and *Penetration* of *this People* is such, that they consider these frequent Preparations of War in the King of *Vulpecula*, only as a *Homage* and *Acknowledgment*, which their happy and prosperous Condition *extorts* from him from Time to Time; and they refer and ascribe those military Operations and Attacks solely to the *forementioned Motive*, and to the *ambitious Purpose* of that *Prince*, to prevent (*by Force, or by Artifice*) the Growth of that *Plant* in *Concordia*, by which the Glory of his own Country, is so much eclipsed and diminished, and by which that of the *Heliopolitans* is so greatly augmented, and so firmly, so assuredly, and so happily established: Besides the King of *Vulpecula* hath all along entertained an Imagination, that if his *Arms*, or *Stratagems*, could prevail so far upon the *Heliopolitans*, as to settle this exiled Prince upon the Throne of *Concordia*, that Kingdom would consequently become dependent upon him.

In which Case, the first Thing, that would follow, in all Probability, upon this Revolution, would be to suppress and to check the Growth and Increase of this famous Plant, if not intirely to *extirpate* and *abolish* it; as the King of *Vulpecula* hath formed this Judgment, (though it is certainly a very rash and erroneous Conclusion,) that the *general Utility* of this Plant does not, in any tolerable Degree, compensate or counter-balance the *Inconvenience* and *Diminution*, which hath accrued to the *Majesty Royal*, or *Imperial Dignity* of *Concordia*, that is to say, to the Honour, Rights, and Interests of the Throne, from allotting and appropriating the most considerable *Demesnes* and valuable *Appenages* belonging to it, in order thereby, the more successfully and universally to promote and encourage the Growth and Circulation of this Vegetable. The King of *Vulpecula*, hath all along considered these *Appropriations*, in favour of that Plant, as so many direct Inroachments upon the unquestionable Rights and

Prerogatives

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Prerogatives of the Kings of Concordia ; and is greatly afraid (or at least seems and affects to be in much Fear) lest *this Plant* should grow into Vogue in his own Dominions, from the *Example* and *Practice* of the People of *Concordia* ; but when this Business comes to be considered in its true and proper Light, and under the *genuine Circumstances of the Case*, it will most evidently appear, that the *immense Revenues* which accrue to the *Crown of Concordia*, from the *Use, Sale, and Circulation* of this *Plant*, (although these Revenues are indeed, *communicated* and *shared* with the People, in such Manner as is *very lucrative*, and extremely beneficial to them) are *incomparably* and *infinitely* greater than the *Defalcation* or Loss which ensues to it, from those Appropriations of *some Part* of the *Royal Appenage* and *Demesnes* : As the present King of *Concordia*, (who hath reigned for many Years with so much *true Glory* and *Felicity*, and so greatly to the *Felicity* and *Advantage* of the *Heliopolitans*,) and several of his *immediate Predecessors* have found to be true, by many, most acceptable, most convincing, most solid, and most effectual Proofs and Experiments ; and the Notoriety of those Things is the true and only Motive for the King of *Vulpecula's*, and his immediate Predecessor AVIDIEN XIV, having made it all along the principal *Object* of their *Government*, to adjust and concert every Measure for suppressing both the Growth and the Use of this Plant, not only within their own Dominions, but (as much as in them lay) in *Concordia* : And it is chiefly (if not solely) to be ascribed and referred to *this Motive*, that AVIDIEN XIV. was almost constantly at War with the *Heliopolitans*, and that the present King (AVIDIEN XV) is incessantly asserting, and recognizing the *Pretensions* of the aforementioned *exiled* and *attainted* Person ; but the *Heliopolitans* have so true a Discernment, and have formed so exact a Judgment, as to what relates to their *civil* Interests, and to their present and future Happiness, as a *State* or *Community* ; they have so serious and intire an Affection for their *Prince*, and have so steady and inviolable an Attachment to his Person and Government, that *these frequent Alarms* serve only as a *cogent Motive* and *Incentive* to *Union* among themselves,

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themselves, and as a *Prelude* and honourable *Preparative* to the *Use* and *Exercise* of *Arms*; and as to the speciously *kind* *Invitations*, and seemingly loving and affectionate *Insinuations* and *Pretexts*, wherewith the *King* of *Vulpecula* (now reigning) would persuade the *Heliopolitans* to accept the aforementioned exiled Person for their *King*; the *sage* and *politic* *Heliopolitans* know full well, that this Proceeding in the *King* of *Vulpecula*, is not in any wise dedicated to their *Service*, nor yet is it in the least calculated for the *Sake* of the abovementioned Person *in Exile*; but is done solely to gratify his exorbitant *Appetite* for the *Increase* of *Empire*, and for *lawless* and *tyrannic* *Sway*:

— — — — — ulla putatis
Dona carere dolis Danaûm, sic notus Ulysses?

The *Heliopolitans* are universally convinced of these artful and insidious *Stratagems*; hence it is, that those frequent *Indignities*, which are done to their *Prince* and *Country*, serve only as a *Whetstone* to their *Courage*, and as a *Loadstone* to attract their *Affections*, to confirm and fix them in their *Love* and *Loyalty* to their *King* and *Country*; and to animate, inflame, and exasperate them *against* their *perfidious* and *inveterate* *Enemy*.

As to the *Prince*, who now holds the *Reins* of *Government* in *Concordia*, he considers all this as a *Circumstance*, which reflects an *Honour* on his *Government*, to have it made the *Object* of so many *impotent* and *unjust* *Attacks*; and hath evidenced to the *World*, on many *Occasions*, a most *undaunted* *Heart*, and most *intrepid* *Spirit*; and that rather than he would have the *Growth* of that *salubrious* *Plant* *checked*, or *obstructed*, he would not refuse to *water* it with his *Blood*; yet is it not solely on this *Account*, that this *Prince* is become the *Darling* of his *People*, that he is so universally beloved and esteemed. This *Prince* is even adored by his *People*, on *Account* of many other *heroical* and *beneficent* *Habits*, and truly *Royal* *Virtues* and *Accomplishments*, which serve to spread a *Lustre* about his *Throne*, far more diffusive and resplendent than the
Diadem

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Diadem he wears upon his Head, which yet for its Beauty and Magnificence, (and on Account of the many very rich and costly Jewels which are placed in it) is *scarce* to be paralleled throughout the World: But to return from this *Digression*:

Let no Difficulties or Dangers discourage, or intimidate our *Briareus*, in the Prosecution of his Voyage to this most flourishing and noble Country, or induce him to change his *Mind*, or his *Measures*, but let him continue stedfast to his Undertaking:

servetur AD I MUM
qualis AB INCEPTO processerit, & sibi constet.

Let him be sure to make due Reflections upon the great Importance of his Voyage, and of his Charge; let him know, that *Caesar* and his *Fortunes* are embarked in his Vessel; and that in the *Life* and *Fortunes* of *Caesar* are included and comprehended the *Fate* and *Fortunes* of the *Commonwealth*.

Now to accompany our *allegorical Briareus* with a *short Moral*; we hope; that every *Englishman*, who hath his Heart *well planted*, will think it a Duty (*indispensably* incumbent upon him to perform) to be aiding and assisting to his *King* in supporting his *Rights*, and advancing the Happiness and Prosperity of his *Kingdoms*; and if the Reader should happen to be convinced, from what hath been *premised*, that *public Councils*, and Things, which have been *advised*, digested, settled, and determined in the most *authentic* and solemn Manner, ought not to vary, waver, or fluctuate at the Mercy of uncertain and *fortuitous* Contingencies; but should remain fixed and stable; and so as to be pregnant and productive of the most solid, glorious, happy, and permanent Effects: If the Reader should be likewise of Opinion, from the *Observables* and *Occurrences* of this *Discourse*, that it would be *prostituting* and *desecrating* the *Honour* and *Holiness* of our *Altars*, (where he is taught his Duty to his *Prince*, and to acknowledge his Authority, and to pray for his *Prosperity* and *Preservation*)

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vation) and would render *his* Sacrifices of Prayers, Praises and Oblations, altogether vain, idle, impertinent, and of no effect; if he should dare to prevaricate with his GOD, and to pollute *his* Holy Temples with a dishonest, disingenuous and *insincere* Mind, and should not bear the most cordial, the most affectionate Reverence and Respect, and the most dutiful, the most faithful, serious and devoted Attachment and Submission to the *Person*, whom the *Laws* of *his* Country have set over him: If the Reader should be convinced from what hath been offered, that it would not only be the highest Prophanation of Things the *most* sacred, and the most to be revered, on the *asorementioned* Accounts; but would be downright Perjury, and a direct and open Violation of *his* Oath of Fidelity and Allegiance to his Prince, to fail in any wise, or to be found wanting in those Respects, which he owes to the *Rights*, to the *Authority*, and to the *Person* of *his* Prince; or to be found backward in asserting and defending those Rights with all his Power, and as much as in him lies, on all Occasions. If the Reader of this little Pamphlet (I say) should be fully persuaded of these Things, and should act constantly, affectionately, and *uniformly* in pursuance of, and in Conformity with *such* Conviction and Persuasion; then shall we have the Satisfaction to reflect that we have performed an acceptable and capital Duty, which we owed to our Country; and that we have attained one *principal* End of writing this Discourse,

Siquid habes melius;—Accerse, VEL IMPERIUM FER.

THE

T H E
R E V I E W
A N D
S U P P L E M E N T.

T HIS *Supplement* owes its Rise not so much for the Sake of casting into a *Sum* the principal Parts of the foregoing Discourse, (which indeed, by Reason of its Brevity and extreme Conciseness, may not seem to require to have its Parts abridg'd or enumerated) as for the Sake of reflecting a better and further Light upon the *Subject*; and in order to introduce in the Course of this our intended Recapitulation, such other *Proofs* and *Particulars* as we had omitted in the preceding Discourse, and which we thought necessary to be inserted, and propose to supply by this Means: In this View we proceed with our intended *Summary*.

The Scene then opens, (that is to say, the Book begins) with giving a brief Detail of the Causes which concurred and contributed to bring about the late Revolution, and the Settlement of the Crown in the Protestant Line. We shew the Approbation and Concurrence of the Kingdom in promoting those Measures, to be so universal and intire, that it may not improperly be called the Legacy of the last Age, in regard to its having received the united Sanction and Suffrage both of the Judgments and Consciences of all such Persons belonging to this Kingdom, who were Contemporaries with that Crisis.

We

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We prove, that *those Resources* were absolutely necessary, and *unavoidable*; and that they were fully warranted, not only *from the Nature of our Constitution*; but *by all Laws both divine and humane*. We think, we have spoken very *pertinently* and *appositely* in Defence of the Lawfulness of those Measures; and *in pursuance of current Authorities*; although we have not indeed always thought fit to cite or refer to them, because these Authorities were so very fully and generally known, in regard to *their general Currency*: On which Account we readily acknowledge we have not laboured this particular Point so copiously as we might have done, as well as in regard to the Reasons alleged in *our preliminary Discourse*; and if we have fallen short of answering the Expectations of the Reader, in bringing this Matter to the *Test*, and *Touchstone* of *strict and plain Demonstration*, it cannot fairly be ascribed to the Want of Materials suitable to the Proof of the Business in hand; but is solely owing to there having been *such a Surcharge of Quotation* already employed in Proof of it, that we concluded, it would be both *unwelcome* and *troublesome* to the Reader, if we should---*in re non dubiâ argumentis uti non necessariis*: Wherefore, we may truly affirm, (if any Defect of a proper and explicit Evidence should be imputed to us, with relation to this Article, as we hope there will not) that--*inopes nos copia fecit*; that the extreme Facility of proving the Point, and the *obvious Reasonableness* of the Thing, is the Reason why we have not *cultivated* it with more *Affiduity*; and penetrated the Soil deeper with the *Plowshare* of *Argument*. What we have offered upon this Head, in our Opinion, may not unfitly be compared to a *Clue* or *Ball* of Thread, which is of a *very fine Grain* and *Contexture*, and which by such as delight in *Political Needlework*, or by such as prefer *Dimension* to *Solidity*, by sowing together and joining the *huge Webs* of *Quotation*, which are extant, may be extended into a *very considerable Volume*. But if any should yet object (notwithstanding the Reasons we have given, and which, we think, are highly worthy to be regarded) to this Method (of handling a Point, which in the
Judgment

Judgment of those, who offer the Objection, became necessary to be proved, as being in reality *fundamental* to the *whole superstructure*, which hath been raised upon it,) as too *cursor*y or *superficial*; we have this further to say, that even those Objections, in our Opinion, will appear *Supercilious*, and too *hastily conceived*; when the Persons, who offer them, are at Leisure to reflect (not only on the Reasons before alledged, but that the Scope and Aim of this Discourse is chiefly to prove, that the Rights of the *Royal Family*, were not only tenderly respected in preferring the Daughters of the late King *James* to the Throne; but fully preserved in the *Settlement*, which was made of the *Crown* in Favour of the present *Royal Family*; and indeed we have proved *unexceptionably*, that the Rights of the *ancient Stem* are as fully included and as amply subsisting in the younger Branches of the *Royal Family*, as in that which hath the Claim of *Seniority* or *Primogeniture*; and consequently, that the Advancement of the younger Branch to the Throne, where *Reasons* and *Emergencies* of *State*, absolutely and necessarily require it, is, in all Respects, a *justifiable* and *well warranted* Measure; and we have shewn (incidentally and in our Passage to the proper Proofs upon this Head,) that the *Possession* of the *Throne*, must in its very Nature and according to its *primary Use and Institution*, have been *relative* and *subordinate* to the Ends and Purposes of Government and *Civil Policy*; and it will appear with a *Mathematical Certainty*, from the Annotation, which we have given at the Bottom of the eighth Page of the foregoing Discourse, that the *Succession* to the *Crown* is not always regulated (even in Kingdoms, where *despotic* Sway is *supposed* most to prevail,) in such Manner as would most effectually conduce to continue the Possession of it in the Descendants of the *reigning Prince*. The *Crown* indeed, is a kind of *Planet*, which shifts its *Place* and *Position*; and altho' its Motions may be confined and *circumfered* for the most Part, within its particular Orb; yet are they directed to nobler Ends, and under more, *advantageous Aspects*, and important Respects of Government, than

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to adhere to particular Families, *solely* for the Sake of such Families, *independently of political Considerations* : Its Motions, *for the general*, being intended to be governed *and actuated* in such Manner as might produce and cause the highest Felicity, and the happiest Events to the *People and Countries*, where such *Constitutions* were respectively received or admitted; and in all such Places where the Crown devolves in the Course of hereditary Descent, and lineal Succession.

The established Course and Order of such Descent, seem to us, *solely and essentially* to subsist in *this political View*, viz. that in virtue of that Constitution, the Course of Succession to the *Crown* might be reduced to a definitive Certainty; and that thereby the Peace of the State might be preserved, more than from any *Retrospect* or *Respect*, which ought necessarily to be had to the Claims or Rights of ancient Families; but yet it ought (both in Justice and Reason) to be allowed, at the same Time, in favour of such Claims and Rights, that where Reasons of State do not *intercept* or interrupt the *Course and Admission* of such Claims; they are, on all Accounts, highly respectable, and most worthy to be regarded: But yet, the Course of Descent with relation to the *regal and imperial* Family of *these Kingdoms*, (or indeed with relation to any other Kingdom) can never be understood to be *regulated* or *guided*, *merely and solely* with a View of *obliging* or *aggrandizing* any particular Family, or *solely* with relation to any Rights of Consanguinity, which may be supposed to be inherent to such Family. The Truth is, that the Rights of any particular Family to the Crown, must be so minute, (although the *original* and *primary* Conveyance and *Investiture* of it to them, had been never so Advantageous and Solemn,) as to be *scarce discernible*, in regard to their frequent *Intermixture* and *Intermarriages with other Families*, by which the Relation to the *old Stem*, is always abated and diminished *one full Half* in every Descent, in a *geometrical Gradation* and *Deduction*; so that though the Name of an ancient Family, may possibly be retained; yet

yet there is that unavoidable *Intercourse* and *Derivation* of Blood from other Families, that such antient Family may be very fitly resembled to a *very large and deep River*, whose Waters are constantly fed and supplied by its being the *Receptacle*, or the *Centre of Confluence*, where several Rivers *disembogue* and *hide* themselves, and whereby it receives its Increase and *Amplitude*; even so an ancient Family, in Process of Time, becomes like the *Argonauts Ship* that had been so often repair'd, that she had scarce any of the original Timber remaining in her. However, this Argument is not in any wise calculated to affect the Rights of particular Persons to *their patrimonial Inheritances*; neither ought it so to do, because it is an undoubted Truth, that *Parents* are under the most essential Obligations to provide, in the most plentiful and honourable Manner, *for their Posterity*; but this Duty takes its Rise from their being (in the *natural Course* of Things) the *material* and *instrumental* Causes of the existence of their Descendents; and therefore, this Argument can in no wise affect or respect the *State*, as no *Body politic* can be under any Tye or Obligation to continue the *regal* Dignity in one particular Branch of the *Royal Stem*, any further or otherwise, than as it suits with the *Honour* and *Interests* of the *State*, to adopt the best descended, and the most illustrious and *heroical Family*, who have, by the Benefits and Services, which they have conferred upon the *State*, deserved best of the *State*; or further or otherwise, than as the People of whom such *Body politic* consists, may have subjected themselves to an *antecedent Compact*, viz. by Oaths, and other Ways and Means, for assuring their Allegiance and Submission. The Solemnity of *Inauguration*, and the Exercise of the regal Office, contribute most powerfully and surprizingly to rivet and cement the *Interests of the Family*, on whom *that splendid and most August Distinction* is conferred, *with the State*, and to render *their Connection with it*, complete and intire.

In this Case, such a Number of *adventitious Honours* and *Respects* are paid to it, on Account of its becoming

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coming the *Head* of the *Body politic*; and with relation to the Opportunities, which are thereby afforded of performing such an infinite Number of *beneficent Acts*, and thereby of obliging the *best Men*, and the *best Families*, in the Kingdom, that the Family thus raised and distinguished, seems to vulgar Minds to be elevated above the Level of *mortal* and *human Condition*; so that it is no wonder, that so many Mistakes and erroneous Conceptions have lodged and insinuated themselves into such *Apprehensions*, with relation to the *hereditary* and *indefeasible* Right, and the *Jure Divino*—*Tenure* of the *Throne*, notwithstanding such Mistakes are so clearly detected and discountenanced, both from the Faith and Testimony of historical Tradition, and from the *stated* and *universal* Course of Things, as well *moral* as *natural*, which loudly proclaim the contrary; but, notwithstanding what is here alleged, the regal Office (I speak in this Place of the King of *England, respectively*) is so *sacred* and so worthy to be had in the highest Reverence and Esteem; and the *Majesty* of the *King's Person* is of that transcendent Dignity and Excellency on all Accounts, that whoever presumes to derogate from the supreme Authority of his Office, or to speak in the least Disrespectfully of his Person, deserves to be considered and treated as an Enemy and Traitor to the STATE.

We shew, that the late King was equally near in the Degrees of Consanguinity to the Throne with the Person who makes Pretensions to it by *Hereditary Descent*.

We have cleared and evinced this Point, not only by a *solemn Argument*, wherein we have stated and exhibited the *Rights of Consanguinity*, according to the *Law of Nature*, (that most *venerable* and *invariable* Guide) and according to the Rules and Principles of the (m) Ro-

MAN

(m) There is no Notice taken by this Law of any Privilege due to Sex, or Primogeniture, nor any Respect paid to them, in its *Doctrinae de Successionibus ab intestato*: by this Law, Lands of Inheritance are partible among all the Relatives *in pari Gradu*.

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MAN *Civil Law*; but we have gone even further in our Proofs; we have proved and established the Title of the present Royal Family to the Throne, by an *historical Induction*, with relation to the Advancement of the House of *Lancaster to the Throne*, &c. We have, indeed, rested the Proof of it upon *this single Example*, as thinking it to be of more solid Weight, (in regard to its *Celebrity* and *long Continuance*, as well as to its being a *domestic Occurrence*) than a Multiplicity of other Instances drawn from the History of our own and other Nations, which we judged to be far less conducive or conclusive to our Purpose. We even shew, (where the very Vitals of our Constitution are in *imminent Danger* from *despotic Sway*, or *anti-constitutional Proceedings*; and where, by *these Means*, the *whole System of Government* is rendered *precarious*; and *reduced to an undue Dependence*) that, at such Conjunctions, the People have a *natural and inherent Right*, (*such a Right as can neither be transferred or extinguished*) to introduce and establish such *Regulations, Acts, and Dispositions of State*, as promise the truest Expediency to their Affairs, the greatest Security to *their Rights, and Persons*; and to bring about a happy and durable Settlement: There are many other *collateral Proofs and Arguments every where* interspersed through the Work, in order the better to *explain and enforce* it. We shew, that where an *ancient Government* hath received some Variation, and hath been, in *some Respects*, *new modelled*, at the Suit and Demand of *public Exigences*, that the Laws, which relate to *such new Settlement*, become from thence *fundamental*, and require, that all Sort of Obedience, Respect, and Observance should be paid to them. For if this was not to be the Case, the Government must otherwise prove deficient in one of its principal Requisites, *Stability*; and unless this is properly assured, unless there is a *moral Certainty* of its Continuance; it is impossible, that that sort of Obedience and Submission should be long paid to it, which is the very Source and Foundation of whatever Advantages are annexed to any Government; and may not improperly be termed the *Nerves and Sinews* of it; and it must consequently shake and *wacillate* under the Weight and Influence of every disobliging

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disobliging and unfavourable Conjuncture; and the Persons on board the *Ship of State*, will, in this Case, rather be *provident* how to save themselves, by *debarking* and withdrawing themselves, with the first favourable Opportunity, that offers for that Purpose, than they will be active in managing the *Sails* and the *Rigging*, and in conducting and managing the Ship to the best Advantage: Besides, the *Rules* of a *true Expediency*, seem to be *cogent*, and conclusive, in the highest Degree, that all *Institutions* and *Settlements* of this Sort, should be *final* and *peremptory*; and not *provisional*, *expectant*, or *interlocutory*, because it would be extremely detrimental to the *State*, that it should remain exposed to *civil Disorders* and *Perturbations*; and nothing conduces more truly or efficaciously to its Interests and Happiness, than that it should remain in a most compleat Repose and Tranquillity, without having its Constitution justled or called in Question; and that there should be a settled and universal Persuasion *among all Sorts of People*, that the Basis of the Government they live under, is well laid, and wisely and justly formed; and that there are no interfering Claims or Pretensions, which ought to shake or disturb it, or to be in the least regarded: *To prove this*, hath been one Motive of our addressing the Public in this Manner, as the Measures of *public Obedience* to any *State*, will always correspond with, and bear Proportion either to the *Estimate*, which is made of *its Power*, or to the *Affections* of the People, who live under it, which are indeed the *instrumental Cause* of *its Power*; and with relation to the Settlement of the Crown in the *present Royal Family*, we think we might very safely have rested the Point upon the *Authority* of *Parliament*, &c. We are indeed, inclined to consider *that Settlement* as an Event of such a Nature, and of that great Importance, as to demand our highest Respect, and utmost Veneration, exclusively of all such Circumstances as might contribute to shew how far the Rights of Blood were regarded in *this Establishment*; but as we had so fine a Field of Argument to expatiate in, with reference to such Rights; we should have thought ourselves greatly deficient in our Regards to the King and his

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his Royal Family, if we had declined to embrace so fair an Occasion of *reflecting that Glory round them*, which we knew, would naturally and necessarily follow from our just hinting at some plain and undeniable Facts, *with relation to the Grandeur and Royalty of their Descent, and their near Relation and Proximity to the Throne independently of this Establishment in their Favour.*

We close the Whole with a Sort of *Poetical Machinery*, containing a *fabulous and allegorical Allusion*, tending, as we imagine, agreeably to *infuse and insinuate the Substance of those Arguments into the Minds of the People*, and to excite their Love and Affection to the present Government, *as the most probable and best assured Plan* for acquiring, advancing, and perfecting all the Ends attainable or desirable from a wise and just Government, where the Powers and Rights appertaining to it have been contrived, lodged, and *ballanced* with exquisite and admirable Prudence, and in the happiest Manner; and *which*, therefore, every *Englishman* ought to wish, *may prove perpetual.*



POSTSCRIPT.

WE have recourse to this *Postscript*, purely for the Sake of introducing a Circumstance into the *foregoing Allegory or Fable*, which had escaped our Attention, and which we think worthy of being inserted in this Place. We therefore beg leave to add to the very short Account which we have given of the Kingdom of *Concordia*, that although it admits a general Licence and Toleration for all Religions, which are not palpably and absurdly Idolatrous, or which are not repugnant to Purity of Manners, or inconsistent with the fundamental *Laws and Maxims* of the State; yet

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yet those who dissent from the Doctrine and Discipline of the *national Church* of this Country, decrease and dwindle away most surprizingly, and are daily diminishing, so that the *Natives* who dissent with relation to Points and Matters of Religion, are now reduced to a very inconsiderable Number, for so very large and populous a Kingdom. Whether this happy Effect is to be ascribed to the *general* Prudence, Moderation, Learning and Sanctity of those who have all along been Professors and Members of the establish'd Church of this Country, which (it cannot be denied) are *eminent, exemplary, and extraordinary*, in the highest Degree; or to the Policy of the *new Converts*, in regard to all the Preferments of the State, as well *Civil* as *Ecclesiastical*, being confined and appropriated to such as are within the *Pale* of *that Church*, is not very easy to be determined: Both these Causes, very probably, may powerfully concur and contribute to produce this important Event; but yet it seems to us, as if there was another Cause which co-operated more considerably and efficaciously than either of the foregoing, in promoting this Union and desirable Harmony, with relation to the Form and *Mode* of religious Worship. The Cause we mean to assign, is of the following Nature; the *Heliopolitans* are known to be extreme Lovers of their Constitution, as we have elsewhere observed: And, indeed, they have the strongest Inducements which *rational* Minds can have for bearing so high an Affection to it as they do, as it is pregnant of so many Blessings to the *State*; and it is owing, in a very great Degree, to the Love and Veneration they have for their *Civil Constitution*, and to the *Maxims* and *Principles* that support it, that Persons of almost every *Seet* and Denomination have of late (of their own voluntary, *uncoerced* and spontaneous Motion and Accord) so strongly inclined to profess *that Religion*, which is held most pure, and worthy of Regard, by those who superintend and direct the Course and Administration of public Affairs, as well *Secular* as *Ecclesiastical*, and which comes recommended to them under the Sanctions of the *State*. The
Heliopolitans

Heliopolitans being fully perswaded, that the Persons, who have been the Authors of so many public and national Blessings to them, and of so many gracious and excellent Dispensations *in favour of their Rights and Liberties*; (and who are, if we consider them as *Individuals*, and *respectively* (for the very most) Men eminent for their Integrity and honest Principles, on which Account they are not only very generally respected, but some of them are even celebrated with regard to their many amiable Qualities, and for their great Wisdom and useful Learning) would never obtrude a *false* or *heretical* Religion upon them. Besides, there is a *moral* and *intrinsic* Evidence from the nature of Things themselves, of the Purity and sublime Excellence of the Religion establish'd in this Country, both from the sound and useful Learning, and exemplary Piety of its Professors, and in the well advised order and regularity of its Discipline, as well as in the purity and tendency of its Doctrine to promote and propagate all *moral* and *evangelical* Truths. The Spirit of *Union* and *Concord* runs so high among this People, and they are so fully agreed *in their temporal Concerns*, and with relation to the *due Expediency of all public Measures*, that they would look upon it as a strange and unaccountable *Paradox* to differ or dissent in Matters of *Religion*, or to encounter the Wisdom of the *State*, with their crude and private Notions, or to suffer them in any wise to juggle, or to stand in Competition with it; they would consider it not only as a notorious Violation of the Rules of Civil Prudence, but as a Breach of *religious Charity* to question the Procedure of the *State* on those Occasions, or to separate from the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church on account of their private Opinions, or personal or *complexional* Perswasions and Prepossessions: These People consider those grave and learned Men, who are the Persons in whose Hands the sacred Truths of their Religion are deposited and intrusted, and who have the Dispensation of the Sacraments of their Church, as having better Opportunities of giving an exact and critical Exposition of the sacred Text, than Persons merely *laical* can have; and that it is impossible for the Clergy of this Country

try (with relation to the wise and excellent Maxims of their Civil Government) to advance their Convenience or Interest by misapplying or perverting those sublime and sacred Truths, which are so very legible and *patent* almost every where, to all sincere and pious Minds in the *Books of Life and Immortality*: And where the Waters of *this divine Pool* are very deep; and if, on that Account, they seem in some Places not to be sufficiently clear, this wise and *sagacious* People (who are, on all Accounts, a most shining Example of Civil Obedience, and of a Submission equally profound and prudent to the Authority and Decrees of the State) take the greatest Care imaginable not to have them *troubled* or *agitated* with the *Winds of Controversy*, but think it much more eligible and safe for them to *swim* in the Sense and Determinations of *that Church*, whose Doctrines are authorized by the State, than by *diving* too curiously and minutely into *those Mysteries*, to bring up the Weeds of *Heresy, Schism and Scepticism*. These wise People think, that if they should casually be in the wrong (which, by the way, is highly improbable, considering the great Learning, Wisdom, and Integrity of those who are appointed to serve and minister at their Altars) yet they stand abundantly justified on account of the *Purity* of the *Motive*, which produces *this Union of Minds* with reference to all religious Matters, *viz. on account of the Duty of their Civil Obedience to the State.*

F I N I S.



